UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

A Friend Hails the Gandhi Autobiography

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVI MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1926 NUMBER 23

Non-resistance is not a state of passivity. On the contrary, it is a state of activity, ever fighting the good fight of faith, ever foremost to assail unjust power, ever struggling for liberty, equality, fraternity, in no national sense, but in a world-wide spirit. It is passive only in this sense—that it will not return evil for evil, nor give blow for blow, nor resort to murderous weapons for protection or defense.
—William Lloyd Garrison.

In securing the exclusive American rights to the serial publication of Gandhi's autobiography (to begin in these columns on April 5th next), UNITY has achieved the greatest distinction in its nearly half-century of life. Already the announcement of the forthcoming event has attracted wide attention. The great publishing house of Macmillan, for example, has asked for rights to the publication of the autobiography in book form in the entire English-speaking world, and negotiations with Gandhi to this end have been undertaken by the Editor of UNITY. We are confident that the initial appearance of the Mahatma's "Story of My Experiments with Truth," as the work is so significantly entitled, will lift UNITY at one step into the front rank of American magazines, and thus give us an importance which it will be our duty henceforth to maintain.

We are glad to see the emphatic statement of Dr. William Paton, Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, in confirmation of our editorial statement last week, that Mahatma Gandhi is by no means a spent force in India. "He is still the greatest single force in India," says Dr. Paton, "and a very real saint." Ever since the retirement of Gandhi from the leadership of the Non-Cooperation movement in favor of the late C. R. Das and the *Swarajists,* as elaborately reported in the issue of UNITY on March 30, 1925, increasing efforts have been made to make it appear that the Mahatma's star is set. As a matter of fact, Gandhi has never been so potent a force as he is today, which means that he is a greater influence over the lives of a larger number of persons than any other one man who has ever lived. His withdrawal from active political leadership a year ago, coupled as it was with a spirit and example of self-abnegation so sublime as to be wellnigh unparalleled in history, produced an impression upon India and upon the world which is ineradicable forever. "All that Gandhi lost temporarily in political position," said Dr. Harry F. Ward to us, shortly after his return from the Far East last fall, "was more than made up by what he gained in spiritual power." From that time on, the Mahatma's ascendancy among his countrymen has become an ever greater and more wonderful thing. His word is India's law—his life her model and example. Search the world of either ancient or modern times, and no more convincing example of the sheer greatness of the spirit can anywhere be found. Gandhi is in the happy position of not being obliged to prove his doctrines or demonstrate his truth, for he is in himself the demonstration of all that he believes. This man can never be a spent force. Like a star which feels the momentum of the cosmos, Gandhi feels the impulses of God. Such men—the few who have appeared in history—are already eternal. In their own life-times they begin to live forever.

"Immortal Love, forever full
Forever flowing free,
Forever shared, forever whole,
A never-ebbing sea! . . .

"The letter fails, the systems fall,
And every symbol wanes;
The Spirit over-brooding all,
Eternal Love, remains."

We have declared repeatedly in these columns, and with much vigor, that the absence of Germany from the League of Nations was a fact fatal to the League's character and efficiency as an international body. Now Germany has applied, without conditions, for membership in the League, and it is confidently expected that she will be received and welcomed by the Geneva assembly not later than next month. This being the case, thanks to Locarno, we believe it only fair that we should here not merely concede but acclaim that the admission of Germany into the League strengthens enormously the power and prestige of the League. Indeed, we are tempted to believe that it goes far toward making the League an entirely different organization from that which we have been discussing, and to which we have been opposed, all along. What have been our objections to the League? First, that it was part and parcel of the abominable Treaty of Versailles. This was true; but it is also true that the Locarno agreements marked the beginning of the end of that Treaty, and thus the emancipation of the League. Secondly, we objected to the League because it was a mere instrument for the enforcement of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty as over against the defeated central powers. This was a sound indict-

ment; but it is now quashed, so to speak, by the receiving of Germany into the Geneva partnership. Thirdly, we objected to the League because it was a mere instrument for the advancement and vindication of the selfish imperialistic interests of the victorious Allies. This also was a valid judgment; but it ends with the entrance of Germany into the League, more particularly as Germany may at once become a decisive factor as holding the balance of power between Great Britain and France who have been rivals at Geneva from the beginning. Lastly, we have been opposed to the League because of its sheer ineffectiveness as a medium of peace in the great crises where such a medium is needed. This objection remains, and will remain until the nations adopt in some form the Outlawry of War program. Meanwhile, with the appearance of Germany at Geneva, the case for the League is vastly strengthened, and the possibility of its ultimate success immeasurably improved.

What the entrance of Germany into the League means for *Germany*, as contrasted with the League, is difficult to exaggerate. In order to understand the real significance of what is transpiring, we only have to compare Versailles in 1919 with Geneva in 1926. Six years ago, when the Peace Conference was being held, Germany was a branded criminal, outlawed from the society of mankind. Her representatives were not allowed to appear at the peace table. She was convicted of war-guilt without being permitted to state her case, thus being denied the privileges freely granted even to the vilest criminal of having his day in court. Her punishment, terrible beyond anything that history has known since the destruction of Carthage, was imposed upon her by force of arms. Bound and fettered for an interminable period of years, she was turned over to her captors like a bond-slave to his master, or a negro to a mob of lynchers. Now less than six years have gone, and Versailles has undone itself. The sheer wickedness of the Peace Treaty has wrought its own destruction. Today Germany is treated not as an outlaw but as an associate. In the only permanent international body now existent, she is received as an equal and given her place of recognition and honor at the council-table. It is true, to be sure, that Germany is not given that position of full advantage among the great powers that properly belongs to her. But this will come in due season—in less than another six years, we may be sure! The important thing now is that the days of outlawry and torture are over. The attempt to hold Germany guilty of the War has failed. The attempt to ruin and destroy her has also failed. Out of Versailles have come only humiliation and defeat for the Allies in the War, and vindication and victory for their victim. We do not wonder that the mad "Hun-hater," James H. Beck, declared on the very day that Germany decided to enter the League, that "the War was a failure!"

A February 2nd Associated Press despatch from Stockholm brings the welcome news that Sweden, by the signing of a compulsory, unlimited arbitration treaty with Finland, has "completed a system of agreements with all her Scandinavian neighbors for *the outlawing of war.*" The additional nations concerned are, of course, Norway and Denmark. The despatch goes on to explain that the treaties in question provide that "all disputes between the signatories must be submitted to arbitration, and in cases in which direct diplomatic negotiations prove futile the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice is accepted in advance as final." It is not indicated in this report whether these treaties specifically brand war as a crime, to be outlawed and punished as such, or whether, as our friend, Rev. Henry W. Pinkham urges so ably and persistently, they simply ignore war altogether as something which, in the Pauline phrase, it is "a shame even to speak of." But these details are not, perhaps, important in this case. The main thing is that these four nations have put war out of their lives as a method of settling disputes, and substituted therefor the judicial process. It is in essence this program for preventing war and establishing peace that the Outlawry of War Committee has been urging from the beginning. It would have the nations banish war by a universal interchange of treaties all around, branding the resort to arms as criminal, writing a code of law for the guidance and control of international relationships, and establishing a court, preferably the World Court, for the interpretation and vindication of this code. In such action as this of the Scandinavian countries, we see the beginning of this wise and effective procedure. Outlawry advocates have visualized a great all-inclusive international conference for the launching of their program. Perhaps it is coming rather in this way, "like a thief in the night," ere we know what is really going on.

General Leonard Wood, Governor-General of the Philippines, is in favor of free speech. Yes, he is! It seems impossible, we grant you—as impossible as Mussolini being in favor of democracy, or the Pope of Protestantism, or Calvin Coolidge of Bolshevism. But it is true, all the same! The mighty Governor is at this moment engaged in vindicating this sacred principle of free speech as over against the wanton attacks of the Filipinos themselves. What do you think of that? The miracle-tale, as reported to our ears, runs this wise. In the island of Luzon dwell certain tribes of natives who are not as highly civilized as the rest of their compatriots. They wear scant clothing, dress their hair in savage ways, brandish spears, and look with fierce countenances into the camera. Now it

seems that photographs of these natives, post-card and otherwise, are being extensively mailed out of the islands and used for propaganda purposes in this country as arguments against self-government. So the Philippine Assembly proposes to put a stop to this nefarious traffic, and Governor General Wood, doughty champion of all human liberties, has come out flat-footed against such interference. It is a violation, he declares, of our basic constitutional rights of free speech and free press! The whole thing seems to us to be rather silly, though we are well aware of the kind of use that can be made and is undoubtedly being made of such pictures as are in question. We can just hear some ardent 100 per cent American exhibiting a photograph of some naked tribesman, and saying, in the true spirit of Jefferson, "Here is a Filipino! Do you want this cannibal to have political independence?" But silly or not silly, it is something to have an issue which puts General Wood on the side of free speech. This, as the New York *World* so eloquently puts it, "is an event of history to be recorded."

When William M. Wood, of the American Woolen Company, shot himself a few weeks ago, the newspapers were filled with eulogistic stories of his character and career. Here was a man who had come to this country as an immigrant and raised himself by his own genius to the highest position of wealth and power. He was a devoted husband and father—grief over the tragic death of his son two years ago was the real cause of his suicide! He was a public-spirited citizen, devoted to the interests of labor, and never quite so happy as when receiving evidence of the esteem and affection of his employees. This was the story in all the papers—but it was not the whole story! Unless our memory is completely at fault, there were at least two chapters missing, and these the most important chapters in the life of the dead millionaire capitalist. If we were writing Mr. Wood's biography, these two chapters would most certainly appear. The first would be called, "Schedule K," and it would tell the tale of William M. Wood, the American Woolen Company, the Republican Party, and the protective tariff. There was a time when voters got excited over the government's taxing every man who bought a suit of clothes and passing over the proceeds to Mr. Wood and his associates. Today nobody gets excited over anything, but protection still remains the same kind of robbery it has always been, the woolen schedules are still the prize package of iniquity, and Mr. Wood stands in history as the chief beneficiary of the money filched from the people's pockets by the tariff policy. The second chapter would be headed, "The Lawrence Strike in 1912." We have before us the official government report of this tremendous industrial upheaval as prepared by Charles P. Neill. This document reminds us of what we already knew, that labor conditions in Lawrence were wellnigh the most terrible ever known in the American business world, that exploitation was absolutely ruthless, that every attempt of the workers to protect themselves was fought to a standstill, and that the strike, which came at last, so moved the nation with pity that Lawrence remains an unforgettable name in industrial history. At the heart of this horror was the "Wood Mill," which means William M. Wood. Peace to the soul of this man! He needs it.

Jottings

In a recent advertisement appeared the following:

"You may have admired in far-off India the exquisite palace of the Taj Mahal . . . stood silently in front of Da Vinci's Last Supper or reverenced Raphael's Madonna at Dresden . . . or have been thrilled with the spectacular majesty of Niagara Falls, subdued by the awesome grandeur of the Grand Canyon. . . . Yet right here at your home new thrills of awesome grandeur await you, for here you can see *Ben-Hur* with its superb Chariot Race with 48 horses abreast. . . ."

We respectfully offer this for the world's first prize for anti-climax.

"Cold Weather Aids Recruiting," runs a newspaper headline. Yes, the army is a convenient bunkhouse for the "bums" when winter comes. Then, with the return of warm weather, desertions begin. A great institution—the army!

German women honored Romain Rolland's 60th birthday in January 29th last by raising money to purchase trees for planting in the devastated areas of France. This was a beautifully appropriate tribute to the great Frenchman.

The first negro woman lawyer ever admitted to practise before the Supreme Court of the United States became a member of that august bar on January 29th last. Georgia, Mississippi and Texas papers please copy.

A negro recently came to the White House to ask President Coolidge to declare a Day of Prayer for the nation. He was arrested and put under observation for insanity. Signs multiply that anybody who takes religion seriously today is a suspicious person, especially in Washington.

Mr. Kerensky, who has not been in Russia since November, 1917, declares from Paris that the "Soviet is doomed" (New York *Times*, February 7th). Count

Ilya Tolstoi, absent from Russia for the past eight years, declares from New York that "Bolshevism cannot last" (New York *Times,* February 7th). Fifty years hence, the grandchild of the Grand Duke Nicholas, born in London and never in Russia at all, will declare that the Communist government at Moscow is trembling to its fall. And the New York *Times* will publish this as *news!* J. H. H.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence.]

I

There is a distinct drift in American life, that is noted by all, with approval by many, with misgivings by others. It is the appearance of the business man as a controlling factor of society. When I was a boy, the banker occupied quite a secondary position in the community, managers of railroads and captains of industry overtopping him, in position and power. Now the man of the street will refer to Congress as a banker-controlled body. It is a common saying that while America is not in the League, and sits on the fence in matters international, the American banker is in every land in quite an active and participating capacity. He is not a mere "observer."

In politics, in education, in charities, this appears conspicuously. Let me mention a few instances to illustrate the position and power of business in American life. I met one of the workers connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations, whose work and headquarters are at Honolulu. This Institute held a three weeks' conference, at Honolulu, last July. He told me that the Institute intended to carry on, and very soon a committee would be on its way around the Pacific, gathering up the effects of the last conference and feeling out the mind of the different lands regarding a second conference. I asked where the Institute got the money for doing its work. He replied, "From the Rockefeller Foundation." There is no attempt to conceal the fact that any specific Foundation is contributor to some "good cause." At another time I asked one of the workers in the promotion of a national convention for the pushing of the World Court who was underwriting the convention, and he frankly said, "The Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations are both giving the major part of it." A report of the work of Oberlin College came the other day. In this particular college, as in many others, the Carnegie Foundation has provided pensions for retiring teachers. In the report I took notice that the age of retirement had been "raised by the Foundation." Of course, this is a surrender of a bit of the power of self-determination enjoyed by the college. I would make the guess that half the colleges of the country are thus "controlled" by one or more Foundations. In the olden days money was left to institutions by means of legacies, giving control to the directors of the institution concerned, but today the money is given and administered by a Foundation, that is by a board far removed from the life of the institution. . . . A few weeks ago, the owner and manager of a big newspaper, Victor Lawson, died. He saw fit to leave his paper to a Trust company in his city, Chicago. The paper, the Chicago News, will be managed by this Trust. This is quite a departure from the days of Horace Greeley of the N. Y. Tribune, the days when personality counted so much in journalism, but whether for good or ill, it plainly marks a strong trend toward business-control.

In every city in America, what is known as the substitution of a "business-manager" for a mayor is growing with leaps and bounds. The idea is that a "manager" shall be chosen by the city council, not by the people. This manager shall be paid a "good salary" in order to secure "brains" competent to administer a "big corporation"—which a city is described as being. I think that it is generally conceded that where the "manager" plan is adopted, the "seat of power" is transfered from the City Hall to the Chamber of Commerce. In nearly every city also, there has sprung up during the past ten years what is known as the "community fund," in dealing with the "charities" of the city. Once a year, a "drive" is made by the business men for as many thousand dollars as may be needed to meet the needs of the city to carry on its charity work. This inevitably ends in what is called "banker-control" of the scores of the charitable institutions of the city. Florence Kelley foretold this ten years ago.

A stranger visiting America would see in this business-control of politics, education and charities the most marked feature of our life. The forces that have been working have thus placed the financier at the top of position and power. Control has been removed from the local institution, the college or the hospital or the legislature, to a far away Board of Directors of a Foundation. To illustrate what I have been intimating—the morning paper carries the proposal of the organization of a Thomas Burke Foundation. A few months ago, Thomas Burke, a pioneer lawyer and real estate owner of Seattle, fell dead while he was pleading for international understanding between America and Asia. He was addressing the directors of the Carnegie Foundation, while he was visiting in New York. It has been proposed, at a meeting in the Chamber of Commerce, that a Burke Foundation be organized, to be administered by a board of twenty-one self-perpetuating trustees, "Proceeds of the trust fund to be used to carry on and to perpetuate the principles and ideals in international affairs which the life of Thomas Burke exemplified"—and the proposal indicates what some of those ideals were.

Business control, whatever one may think of it, is undoubtedly regnant in American Life. Many there are who believe it will bring more efficiency in politics, education and social work. Others believe it will place the life of America in the hands of ultra-conservatives while the power of initiative and of adventure will evaporate under business control.

II

An important event took place on February 3rd last, when the Admiral liner, "President Jefferson" sailed from Seattle carrying 128 Ford tractors for Russia. These tractors will go via Vladivostok. This is the initial shipment of 10,000 tractors that the Soviet government has contracted for with Ford. The tractors are of the type used on American farms, retailing at 580 dollars. This shipment and the purchase of

cotton on a large scale from American growers is rapidly changing the attitude of America toward the Soviet government. The editors are "seeing signs of Russia's coming to life" since buyers of cotton and tractors began to appear. The recognition of Russia is probably not far off. "Money talks a language that can be understood."

III

Some close observers of American life believe that the next great social conflict will be not between labor and capital but rather between city and country. In the public mind, years ago, the farmer was the most important social factor in the land. He has been brushed aside by the city worker, by machine-industry. The fact is pointed out that while President Coolidge is willing to "help" the railroads, he shows a clear intention to let the "farmers go it alone." One U. S. senator, just back from "seeing things" in Europe, prophesies, from his observations, that if far more attention is not paid to the American farmer, the man who supplies the food, the country can easily, during a crisis, such as Germany has passed through, drop to a condition of starvation. The farmer quite naturally hoards food, when he can get little or nothing for it. He points out that there is the same problem in Germany and in Russia as well, how to get the farmer (or peasant) upon a basis of pleasant cooperation with the city-worker. It is quite easy for resentment on the part of the farmer to be worked up against the city-man. A wide social schism may be produced if the farmer believes that he is not receiving adequate legislative and financial attention. The present Russian government nearly collapsed at one point in its career by the distemper of the peasants, that it showed its wisdom by arbitrarily lowering prices, to satisfy them; by organizing "fairs" which brought the city-workers and peasants together, by bringing them up to the "fairs" free of cost, where they were entertained in the homes of the city-workers, etc. Whether a social conflict between city and country is coming in America greater than that between capital and labor, I do not prophesy, although I do call attention to the fact that the most of the political insurgent movements in America have been among the farmers—this for many years past—and today there is more discontent and insurgency among them than anywhere else. The point of safety in the situation is the mobility of the life of the nation, which makes the farmer of today the factory-hand of tomorrow, and on the other hand makes the factory-hand often express himself as "wanting to get out of the city and back to the farm."

SYDNEY STRONG.

Sensitiveness to Human Need

(An Address to Students)

Sixteen hundred years ago this month Christendom, through its bishops and other representatives assembled in the Council of Nicea, was attempting the unhappy and impossible task of defining orthodoxy. Seven centuries ago the world was having a brief breathing spell between the fifth and sixth crusades, and knighthood was in full flower, for nearly a quarter of a millennium was to elapse before the birth of him who "laughed Spain's chivalry away." Four centuries ago, that is, in 1525, William Tyndale's New Testament was published and the gory struggles of the Reformation period were beginning. Three hundred years and three months ago, in the midst of Europe's dreadful Thirty Years' War, Hugo Grotius gave to the world his epoch-making volume, "The Rights of War and Peace," a book into which all works on international law of our own day root back. One hundred and fifty years ago this spring, at Lexington and Concord, was "fired the shot heard round the world," and on June 17th our country rounded out its third half-century since Stark and his New Hampshire men rendered yeoman service at Bunker Hill. One short century ago Lafayette was finishing his last visit to America. In the same year the Erie Canal was opened and Monroe was succeeded by John Quincy Adams as President of the United States. In the same year, also, the first passenger steam railroad in England commenced operation.

In their respective times these events were as burning coals, while today they are but the dry ashes of dead chronicles. "Dead the warrior, dead his glory, dead the cause for which he died." For the world moves onward and old fashions of thought are elbowed aside by new happenings and new issues. And this is as it should be, and as it must be, in a world of living persons. New issues must be met and, as H. G. Wells once pointed out, new questions cannot be settled by tradition.

There is a sinister side to this fact of mental mutation, however, which deserves attention. New untruths and injustices or old untruths and injustices in new forms continually appear. One sometimes wonders what the next fashion in falsehood and wickedness will be. Nobody knows. But we must expect fallacies and exploitations. We scarcely get one evil eliminated from society before another pops up. And, if history is trustworthy, we may be sure that no proposed policy can be so dastardly but that, from the ranks of jurists and journalists, from the philosophers and poets and preachers, supposedly respectable advocates will be forthcoming to justify said policy in high-sounding words or pious phraseology. For example, concerning "tainted money" we were solemnly informed that "the altar sanctifies the gift." Imperialism was unctuously interpreted to us as "Manifest Destiny," a divinely imposed "White Man's Burden." During the recent World War deceit was exalted into a science and fine art, and a new word was projected into our English vocabulary, *"camouflage,"* so that old fashioned liars now find new joy in practicing Ananiasism. Unfortunately, a by-product of camouflage seems to be a general slump in honesty.

Among the intellectual fads which came out into the open during or since the recent war—in part the cause of said war and in part its effect—is hard-boiledness, or avowed insensibility to human need and suffering. Hard-boiled-ness is no new thing. It antedated even the Pharaoh of the Oppression. In fact it runs back to primitive savagery. It was the distinguishing characteristic of paganism. But the "Christian" world never could quite bring itself openly to espouse the doctrine until recently. Machiavelli for-

mulated the theory in his volume, "The Prince," but he stated it with such cold-blooded inhumaneness that men shrank from accepting it. It remained for our own generation to exalt unbrotherliness into a virtue and to swallow the horrible doctrine whole—"hook, line and sinker."

This theory of hard-boiled-ness, which justifies indifference to human suffering and which opposes efforts to improve social conditions, appears in two forms. As the *Christian Century* not long ago editorially analyzed it: The theory appears in scientific terminology as a belief that "the impersonal tide of beneficent cosmic forces will bear humanity onward regardless of man's puny and impertinent efforts to assist the process"; while in more pious terminology hard-boiledness contends that "God will do everything that needs to be done" without the help of meddlesome "uplifters" who "want to direct the process of social evolution." The corollary is that reformers and champions of social and moral "causes" are "futile, superfluous and pestilent."

Long did hard-boiled-ness wait for a poet to give it the crowning sanction of mingled poetry and religion. At last the poet appeared, and in the March, 1925, number of the *Atlantic Monthly* you may find John Jay Chapman's poem, "No Pilots We." It is a beautiful little poem, as poems go today, running in part like this:

Would I were one of those who preach no Cause—
Nor guide mankind with meddling finger-tips.
.....
We are no pilots; let us trust our bark,
Miraculous, alert, not made with hands,
That feels a magic impulse through the dark,
And leaps upon the course it understands
From shores unknown to unimagined strands;
Resists the helm we give it, but divines—
Being itself divine—divine commands;
And answers to no compass save the signs
Encircling deepest heaven where the Zodiac shines.

Certainly this sounds well. It professes implicit faith in a beneficent divine governance. But what does the poem really mean? "No cause"—the poet aspires to be a moral slacker. "Meddling finger-tips"—that implies that every inventor, every scientist, every educator, every law-maker, every reformer, is a meddler, interfering with God's prerogatives and activities. Translating the remainder of the poem into modern slang the lines might run like this: There may be suffering in the world, but "We should worry"; if a little relief or prevention seems to be needed, "Let George (in this case God) do it"; plague take these pestiferous, sentimental, dangerously radical fellows who are forever talking about suffering and who want us to be so silly as to take religion seriously and to live like brothers! To any hard-boiled poet who writes such a hard-boiled poem in advocacy of hard-boiled-ness I would put a question or two: Doest thou well to traduce your moral betters by portraying the world's choicest-souled people as scheming self-seekers and as interfering with Divine plans? Would it not be well for you to cease from composition long enough for you to re-read and study and perhaps pray over a poem of an earlier generation, Lowell's "Lines on the Capture of Fugitive Slaves Near Washington"? The poem begins thus:

Look on who will in apathy, and stifle they who can,
The sympathies, the hopes, the words, that make man truly man;
Let those whose hearts are dungeoned up with interest or with ease
Consent to hear with quiet pulse of loathsome deeds like these!

What shall we say concerning hard-boiled-ness? First of all, we can truthfully say that it is untrue to fact. History shows that social improvement has been made and human progress achieved through human agencies and effort, that divine forces apparently are apt to become operative through men and women who have eyes to see what ought to be done and who are so genuinely compassionate, like Him who "was moved with compassion," that they cannot rest until they have made every endeavor and every possible sacrifice to remove preventable injustice and suffering.

Just think, there would be no such thing as houses, machines, schools or laws—nothing that makes modern civilized life in any respect or degree better than jungle existence—if somebody had not observed and felt and cared and sacrificed. Every inch of human and humane progress has cost dearly and is a contribution to the common welfare by somebody who "was moved with compassion." Look at mother love—the purest human love, the great sustaining, renewing force in society. Suppose mothers should adopt and practice the doctrine of hard-boiled-ness, what would be the result? The speedy extinction of the human species. Why have government, sanitation, laboratories or universities if humanity cannot be improved or benefitted by anything man can do?

The whole hypothesis of hard-boiled-ness is inconsistent with, untrue to, and breaks down under, the patent facts of human progress. On the basis of unmitigated hard-boiled-ness the race would sink rapidly into cannibalism and annihilation. As a theory it is philosophically, socially, historically and ethically false. It is a bald, brazen lie. Its unworkableness is its pragmatic refutation, and its nakedly shameless untruthfulness should be its sufficient condemnation. Certainly no truth-lover, no truth-seeker who has worked in the laboratories of modern science can afford to break faith with his moral nature by accepting hard-boiled-ism.

If time permitted we might pass in review a long and glorious marching column of knightly souls who saw and felt and cared and tried and sacrificed and did for others, to whom the world is indebted for its greatest institutions and its highest moral and social and political values. We might recall the martyrs of liberty, the founders of the modern missionary enterprise, educational pioneers like New Hampshire's great son, Colonel Francis Wayland Parker, or social reformers like America's uncrowned queen, Jane Addams, who dedicated herself to her rarely beautiful career of social service because she felt "the terrible pain of human sympathy" at the sight of the frightful suffering of the poor in London.

But let me speak at some length of a man whom I first heard speak at the international peace congress in Boston in 1904 and whom I met again on a similar occasion in London four years later. I suspect that most of you never even heard or read the name of this man, Edmund D. Morel, and yet by so careful and discriminating writer as John A. Hobson he is regarded as England's knightliest soul of our day and generation. Who was this man and what did he do? Born of a French father and of a mother of English Quaker stock, young Morel, after finishing his education in English schools and serving as a clerk in a Paris bank, entered the employ of a great Liverpool corporation which carried on an extensive international trade. Here

his duties took him to France and Germany and Belgium, and in the course of these visits he learned of slavery and atrocities in the Congo where the rubber trade was being carried on by King Leopold II of Belgium. Morel was only twenty-seven years old at the time he founded the "African Mail" and began his campaign in behalf of the blacks of the Congo. Against him was pitted the most corrupt, astute and unscrupulous monarch in the whole world. Morel was without capital, recently married, and with no influence, yet like a fearless knight he flung himself into the battle for justice and human liberty. By the sufferance of the Great Powers, it will be remembered, the Congo at that time was under Belgian rule, and Leopold had so manipulated affairs as to enable himself to carry on an immensely profitable private business in rubber and ivory. The financial profit was great because the enterprise was carried on by means of the forced labor of the natives, who were tortured or killed if they dared to resist.

Organizing the Congo Reform Association, Morel became the editor of its official organ. His activity was prodigious, his courage unconquerable. Here was a new kind of a reformer, a trained statistician turned pamphleteer and author, flinging off red-hot editorials or publishing volumes with such titles as "Red Rubber" and "King Leopold's Rule in Africa." The British public, at first unresponsive, presently was stirred to the very depths by Morel's appeal to its characteristic love of fair play. In 1911 reforms were instituted and two years later the Leopoldian policy was abandoned, the hideous regime ended, and the Congo slaves were free. Single-handed, this man had saved the African blacks from permanent servitude.

Morel probably was the most popular man in England at this period. A great assemblage in his honor was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, at which Sir Gilbert Parker presided. Addresses were made by some of England's most conspicuous leaders, Morel was publicly thanked for his services to the Congo and to the people of England, and a purse of $20,000 was presented to him. To him it was granted to see in his own lifetime the triumph of the cause he had so bravely and devotedly championed—an experience denied to most reformers.

Almost overnight Morel ceased to be the most popular man in England and became the most hated man. How and why? Morel's work in behalf of the Belgian Congo had revealed to him the fact of secret diplomacy between nations. Morocco at that time was the storm center of diplomatic maneuvering, and in 1912 he published "Morocco in Diplomacy," in which he gave to the world a statement of the actual state of affairs in Europe. When the war broke, in 1914, perhaps better than any other living man, Morel knew, from long investigation, that the great war was not the result of the exclusive guilt of one nation alone, but that all the military powers of Europe were guilty. He organized, with J. Ramsay MacDonald and others, the Union of Democratic Control, and informed his fellow citizens that the English people had been betrayed by the English government and the remedy lay in democracy, open diplomacy and international peace. In his possession were full and exact data. His mastery of facts, from our standpoint today, appears almost uncanny. Since the close of the war these facts have been brought out by historians and Morel's arguments and stand have been completely vindicated by post-war developments and by official documents recently published by various nations.

At that time, however, when the white world was war-mad, Morel became the target of bitterest hatred. He was spoken of as a German tool, was ostracized, spies dogged his trail, his private life was scrutinized for scandal and traps were set to catch him in some seditious act. At length, unknowingly and innocently, he violated the Defense of the Realm Act. He sent some of his pamphlets to Romain Rolland, in Paris, a perfectly legal act. But, all unknown to Morel, Rolland had taken refuge in Switzerland. It was illegal to send printed matter to a neutral nation without a license. The pamphlets were delivered to Rolland in Switzerland. For this, Morel was arrested and put on trial. He was betrayed by his lawyer, convicted and thrown into prison, where the seeds of death were implanted in his sensitive body.

When prison doors opened and Morel was free, this "knight-errant of unfriended Truth" once more "blew his magic note before grim castles and frowning Wrong" by commencing the publication of "Foreign Affairs." By 1922 the public temper had so changed that he stood as a candidate for Parliament from Dundee, Scotland. His opponent was none other than the doughty, spectacular, noisy militarist, Winston Churchill. Morel's victory at the polls was overwhelming. Two years later Morel ran again as candidate from Dundee. In spite of an almost universal Tory victory, he headed the poll, being handsomely re-elected. At the end of this campaign 20,000 people gathered at the railroad station in Dundee to say "Good Bye" to their idolized leader as he took train for London and vacation. He spoke what proved to be his last public words—words which reveal his whole career: "Be of good cheer; truth and justice will prevail."

With his wife, Morel sought rest in Devonshire. With a relative he went for a walk, starting for Lucknow Woods. Proceeding slowly uphill he remarked, "This air puts new life into me." Scarcely were the words out of his mouth before he was seized with a heart attack, stumbled and lay down, assuringly saying to his companion, "Don't be alarmed." Before help could be summoned his great soul was freed from his tired body. Thus rounded out the life of "The White Man with the Straight Eye," as the African chiefs gratefully called him. On the very day of his death he had written to a friend: "I have no use for, and no place in, public life if I am compelled, being in it, to act in a way which I know to be morally wrong and destructive of my own self-respect."

Tall, handsome, of charmingly magnetic personality, this knight of the new and true chivalry died a martyr to the stupidity and cruelty of man, for, as I have intimated, his naturally splendid physique was undermined by his imprisonment. Of him the London *Nation* remarked: "He was as brave a man as England in our time has known." And Ramsay MacDonald paid this tribute: "He was the embodiment of causes and principles." Peculiarly applicable to him are the words, "He was moved with compassion." For a time he was a "man of sorrows, acquainted with grief." When vilified, hounded, "hated without cause," forsaken by lifelong friends and fellow reformers, his exquisitely sensitive soul bled. But he would not surrender his ideals, he was true to the people. This little verse, penned in his memory after his death by one of his

many loving admirers, reveals his stoutness of soul and his blazing knightliness:

Dauntless he walked, breast forward, pressing to his goal;
Scorned every compromise that would his soul betray;
Held Truth his oriflamme, nor feared the scourging way
Which immemorial time has patterned for Truth's dole.

One of the most disheartening things I have read lately was Sherwood Eddy's account of a visit to a certain college. One of the college officials took him in tow and proceeded to inform him thus:

We sell these students the ability to make money. That is what they are here for. Most of them do not care enough for the college to cross the street and "root" for the football team. They do not care for the college, for the country, for humanity—for anything but themselves and their own selfish interests.

God pity the college of which such words are true! God pity the nation if such a condition is measurably prevalent! Such hard-boiled-ness would be especially and tragically out of place in state universities supported by taxes levied upon the people.

Sir Philip Sidney, you will recall, when a youth used to declare, "If there any good wars, I shall go to them." In our day there are plenty of "good wars" calling for recruits. Truth needs champions more desperately than at any previous day within the memory of the oldest person present. Would you have believed that in America, land of public schools, we could ever fall upon days when a state legislature would enact a law forbidding the teaching of evolutionary science? Or when an empire state would establish an inquisition for its public school teachers? But such a day is here—a day of empty-brained superficiality, lazy ignorance and superstition, intolerance and truckling cowardice. In every conceivable way the people are deceived, exploited and ruined in body, mind and character. Newspaper lies, political lies, commercial lies, pulpit lies and all the rest of the fifty-seven unhallowed varieties of lies catalogued by Mr. Dooley lead the people astray and to their doom. They are as "sheep without a shepherd." Do we not need clear-visioned, scientifically trained thinkers to lead the way to individual and social salvation? Justice and outraged brotherliness need champions. American childhood mutely appeals for protection. Hatreds of all kinds—racial, international, class—are rampant and take frightful toll in biological waste, deteriorated morals, and destruction of spiritual values. A power-intoxicated, money-mad white race fondly prattles the fiction of Nordic supremacy, while Asia, stung into frenzy by white men's fraud, oppression and insult, is being goaded into violence. In dozens of ways "man's inhumanity to man makes countless millions mourn." As in Jesus' day, the fainting, dispirited people sink down into despair. Truly the times call for a new chivalry, a new soldiery. Concerning the old kind of soldiering Lord Wolseley, in his "Soldier's Pocketbook," wrote: "The officers must try to get killed." If the old warfare which, according to Byron, was a "brain-spattering, windpipe-slitting art," was worth the death of elite officers, is not the new warfare for the protection of persons and society and morals worth the investment of a collegian's life?

But, to be specific, what do I mean? Something like this, which is expressed in the Pledge of Student Fellowship for Christian Life Service:

I recognize the domination of pagan principles and motives in present day business relationships, especially the disregard for human values in industry, the widespread denial of brotherhood between the white and colored races, and the devastation of the greatest values of life in war. I am confronted with the need for men and women with the spirit of Christ who will, at whatever cost, strive to make the principles of love and service effective in all these relationships throughout the world. I cannot do less than give my life to this task, and I solemnly covenant with God that I will earnestly seek until I find where I can be most effectively used by Him. It is my purpose, with God's help, to stand for the supremacy of human values above all other values in life; to make the principles of love and service, as exemplified in the life, the teaching, and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the dominating motive of my life, with the full realization that this commitment may involve me in personal sacrifice, social ostracism and financial hardship.

Here you stand, young friends, at the fork of the roads. Which one will you take? With which group will you keep company? You can enter the broad, gay, popular road of shallow-pated hard-boiled-ism, and you will have plenty of company. And probably you will make some money and be able to buy the lower pleasures and cheaper honors, escape unpopularity and have few social collisions. But if you take the other road—the road to the right—your experience will be very different. 'Tis a narrow road, few find it and fewer walk in it, and at times you will be terribly lonely for human companionship. But never mind. Three things will satisfy your soul: First, 'tis the right way, and no true man or woman wants to walk in any other; secondly, the companionship of Him who "was moved with compassion" and who trod the path of courageous loyalty to the end shall be yours to enjoy in such fashion as most sweetly to surprise and comfort you; and, thirdly, 'tis the way to life.

Dear young people, if your purpose in coming to this university was to increase your money-earning capacity, or to attain social standing, or to prolong your non-earning period, or to make a name in athletics, or to throw yourself into amusements, or merely to get something for yourself alone, will you take a parting word from an older brother? Put all self-centred plans out of your thought. Go to your room, or to some quiet place, between now and Tuesday morning, get down low before God, and pray the All-loving Father to forgive you for having thought only of self. Tell Him that things do not look the same now because you have had a vision of human need and heard the bitter cry of earth's disinherited men and women and little children, and that you want to "work with God at love" and change things for the better. And ask Him to open the right door to the task in which your life will count the most. Stay there, alone with God, as long as may be necessary, perhaps spending a part of this very day or night—until your whole being is at one with God and at His disposal—intellect, will, feelings, all for God and for His children. Then, having settled the greatest problem of your life, go to your commencement, thankfully and humbly and reverently receive the parchment of your great Alma Mater, and go out highly resolving to render knightly service in redressing human wrongs and organizing human brotherhood. And, believe me, the dear God who ever leads those who are willing to be led will make plain to you the next step and the next. And may He give you love and courage sufficient to enable you to help bring a new and truer and higher knighthood into flower as you march, breast forward, under the captaincy of Him who, as none other, "was moved with compassion"!

CHARLES E. BEALS.

George Washington

(The Testimony of Thomas Jefferson)

The most memorable estimate of the mind and character of Washington is that by Thomas Jefferson, the greatest of Washington's contemporaries save, perhaps, Franklin, the author of the Declaration of Independence, a fellow Virginian, the head of Washington's Cabinet, and his close friend for almost a lifetime. Jefferson was the ablest writer among the statesmen of the time, with a mind as penetrating as it was just. This delineation of Washington was a frank and spontaneous word in a letter written from Monticello, January 2, 1814, to Dr. Walter Jones of Virginia. Dr. Jones had written an able essay on parties in the United States, and he proposed to prepare another. In respect to one of the topics of this essay, he expressed the doubt to Jefferson which is answered in the following letter.—*Edwin D. Mead.*

"You say that in taking General Washington on your shoulders, to bear him harmless through the federal coalition, you encounter a perilous topic. I do not think so. You have given the genuine history of the course of his mind through the trying scenes in which it was engaged, and of the seductions by which it was deceived, but not depraved. I think I knew General Washington intimately and thoroughly; and were I called on to delineate his character, it should be in terms like these.

"His mind was great and powerful, without being of the very first order; his penetration strong, though not so acute as that of a Newton, Bacon or Locke; and as far as he saw, no judgment was ever sounder. It was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion. Hence the common remark of his officers, of the advantage he derived from councils of war, where hearing all suggestions, he selected whatever was best; and certainly no general ever planned his battles more judiciously. But if deranged during the course of the action, if any member of his plan was dislocated by sudden circumstances, he was slow in a readjustment. The consequence was, that he often failed in the field, and rarely against an enemy in station, as at Boston and York. He was incapable of fear, meeting personal dangers with the calmest unconcern. Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining if he saw a doubt, but, when once decided, going through with his purpose, whatever obstacles opposed. His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man. His temper was naturally irritable and high-toned; but reflection and resolution had obtained a firm and habitual ascendency over it. If ever, however, it broke its bonds, he was most tremendous in his wrath. In his expenses he was honorable, but exact; liberal in contributions to whatever promised utility; but frowning and unyielding on all visionary projects, and all unworthy calls on his charity. His heart was not warm in its affections; but he exactly calculated every man's value, and gave him a solid esteem proportioned to it. His person, you know, was fine, his stature exactly what one would wish, his deportment easy, erect and noble; the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback. Although, in the circle of his friends, where he might be unreserved with safety, he took a free share in conversation, his colloquial talents were not above mediocrity, possessing neither copiousness of ideas, nor fluency of words. In public, when called on for a sudden opinion, he was unready, short and embarrassed. Yet he wrote readily, rather diffusely, in an easy and correct style. This he had acquired by conversation with the world, for his education was merely reading, writing and common arithmetic, to which he added surveying at a later day. His time was employed in action chiefly, reading little, and that only in agriculture and English history. His correspondence became necessarily extensive, and, with journalizing his agricultural proceedings, occupied most of his leisure hours within doors. On the whole, his character was, in its mass, perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance. For his was the singular destiny and merit of leading the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war for the establishment of its independence; of conducting its councils through the birth of a government, new in its forms and principles, until it had settled down into a quiet and orderly train; and of scrupulously obeying the laws through the whole of his career, civil and military, of which the history of the world furnishes no other example.

"How, then, can it be perilous for you to take such a man on your shoulders? I am satisfied the great body of Republicans think of him as I do. We were, indeed, dissatisfied with him on his ratification of the British treaty. But this was short lived. We knew his honesty, the wiles with which he was encompassed, and that age had already begun to relax the firmness of his purposes; and I am convinced he is more deeply seated in the love and gratitude of the Republicans, than in the Pharisaical homage of the federal Monarchists. For he was no Monarchist from preference of his judgment. The soundness of that gave him correct views of the rights of man, and his severe justice devoted him to them. He has often declared to me that he considered our new Constitution as an experiment on the practicability of republican government, and with what dose of liberty man could be trusted for his own good; that he was determined the experiment should have a fair trial, and would lose the last drop of his blood in support of it. And these declarations he repeated to me the oftener and more pointedly, because he knew my suspicions of Colonel Hamilton's views, and probably had heard from him the same declarations which I had, to wit, 'that the British constitution, with its unequal representation, corruption and other existing abuses, was the most perfect Government which had ever been established on earth, and that a reformation of those abuses would make it an impracticable Government.' I do believe that General Washington had not a firm confidence in the durability of our Government. He was naturally distrustful of men, and inclined to gloomy apprehensions; and I was ever persuaded that a belief that we must at length end in something like a British constitution, had some weight in his adoption of the ceremonies of levees, birthdays, pompous meetings with Congress and other forms of the same character, calculated to prepare us gradually for a change which he believed possible, and

to let it come on with as little shock as might be to the public mind.

"These are my opinions of General Washington, which I would vouch at the judgment-seat of God, having been formed on an acquaintance of thirty years. I served with him in the Virginia Legislature from 1769 to the Revolutionary war, and again, a short time in Congress, until he left us to take command of the army. During the war and after it we corresponded occasionally, and in the four years of my continuance in the office of Secretary of State, our intercourse was daily, confidential and cordial. After I retired from that office, great and malignant pains were taken by our federal Monarchists, and not entirely without effect, to make him view me as a theorist, holding French principles of government, which would lead infallibly to licentiousness and anarchy. And to this he listened the more easily, from my known disapprobation of the British treaty. I never saw him afterwards, or these malignant insinuations should have been dissipated before his just judgment, as mists before the sun. I felt on his death, with my countrymen, that 'verily a great man hath fallen this day in Israel.'

"More time and recollection would enable me to add many other traits of his character; but why add them to you, who knew him well? And I cannot justify to myself a longer detention of your paper.

"Vale, proprieque tuum, me esse tibi persuadeas.

"Th. Jefferson."

The Understanding of Gandhi

We might disagree with Mahatma Gandhi, in some item or other of his programme. We might not see eye to eye with him on all things. But none of us can ignore him. No one can escape him. He is so sincere, so true that even those who differ from him perforce stay with him awhile and listen to the voice of his soul. He is a giant spirit. He is more than the intellect; more than the heart. His appeal is, therefore, not purely to the intellect or to the heart alone. Whatever be the path of life we tread, at one time or other his voice is bound to reach us. To the artist in his studio, to the scholar in his library, to the rich on their cushions of indolence comes his voice, because sad millions "discrowned in the night" find their utterance in that voice. When his voice thus comes to us through the open window or the unclosed door let us not shut our ears to it for if not today, then tomorrow, we must give him our ears. Because with him and his message is mixed up the fate of Humanity. My plea at the very outset, therefore, is "Let us try to understand him. Let us listen to him. It does not matter if after understanding him we have to differ from him. There is nothing wrong at all in differing even from him but not to try and understand him is to confess ourselves heartless and headless, for he is today more than any other living man the burning symbol of the uttermost self-sacrifice and the most challenging sincerity."

When opening the All India Spinner's Association at Patna, Mahatma Gandhi's first words were, "I am no politician."

Few understood him. Many did not even take him seriously. But the few who knew the unfoldment of Mahatmaji's life and mission instinctively felt how literally true were those words.

Over and over again in his own writings we come across a note of keen regret that politics took up so much of his attention and time as it actually did. But he simply could not avoid it. He is too compassionate a servant of Humanity. To his own people ground under foreign heels politics has become a dreadful reality which must be faced.

They could not avoid politics as being "dirty" or refuse to accept the brutal challenge of tyranny as being unpoetic. For over a century and more a vast machinery of exploitation and emasculation, perfect in every detail of its black inhumanity, has been slowly and surely sucking up their lifeblood and the cry of their helplessness became a piercing shriek in the Punjab at the time of the Amritsar tragedy when men, women and children, old and young, were massacred in the name of the Empire. At this critical time Mahatma Gandhi stood for a moment at the cross roads. He was, as he is, a man of peace who would, if only he could, quietly lose himself in the midst of the poor villagers to stand with them in their misery and want and wipe their tears wherever possible. He has himself said "I am a man of peace. I want peace but I do not want the peace that you find in the grave—I do not want the peace you find in the stone." Mahatmaji quickly made his choice and naturally and inevitably his countrymen soon after accepted him as their truest comrade and leader.

But his heart has ever been and still is with the poor villager in his poverty and his ignorance. The villager he knows is Indian. The cities shelter but a handful of his countrymen but the teeming millions are in the seven hundred thousand villages. Mahatma Gandhi came to know them. He saw the foreigner with the help of the city man exploiting them and yet they knew not in their ignorance that they were exploited. He saw that darkness, more and more intense, was creeping into their little huts and into their hearts also. He realized with a great twitch at his heart that unless some one aroused them from their helplessness they were doomed and with them the nation; and he steeled himself to the resolve that whatever sacrifices he had to make he would reach them and hold out his hands to them. And if after a little hesitation he plunged into politics, it was because he understood that only by identifying himself completely with the crying need of the times could he quickly and surely reach their hearts. The poverty of the Indian masses is so fearful a reality that he bowed his soul before God and himself took the vow of poverty. He gave up even his little homespun dhoti and shirt and resolved to satisfy himself with a loin-cloth. Thus was accomplished, perhaps, the last act of his identification with the poor. Rabindranath understood the place of the poor and the lowly in the scheme of life when he sang that God was with the "poorest, the lowliest and the lost." Gandhi understood it too and so he began seeking for God where alone He could be found—among the "poorest, the lowliest and the lost." His relation to the poor is one not merely of sympathy. It is a nearer and closer kinship. He is nearer to the villager in his humility and simplicity of mind and life than to the city man with his imitation and pride. Perhaps also in S. Africa he made the discovery that when put to the test the poor were more

ready to sacrifice and suffer for truth and victory. For, those who stood most faithfully and courageously by him in the Great Passive Resistance movement in S. Africa were the Tamil peasants and the peasants from other parts of India, most of whom did not even know how to write or read. There it was that he came face to face with the tragedy of Modern Civilization. He saw millions forced into the mire so that a privileged few might live in indolence and luxury. He realized there that the world really belonged to the poor and that the few who rode on the backs of the millions were guilty of a crime blacker than any known in history. He, therefore, even before he returned to India, came to the first conclusion of his philosophy that the rich can have only their equal share but no monopoly, and that it was his mission to restore to the poor their legitimate heritage. But he determined not to have any hatred or anger against the oppressors and tyrants. He said to himself that he could not serve the poor by hating the rich and wanting their blood. He is a communist of communists but in his communism there is no place either for hatred or violence. He simply accepted the oppressor too within the scope of his sympathy for he had the vision to see that the oppressor was morally the poorer and as such deserved but greater sympathy and compassion. He thus reached his second unalterable conclusion,—never to hate the rich or the oppressor even when seeking to end by all peaceful means their robbery and tyranny.

For the conversion of the tyrant he sought for a force which while redeeming the oppressed will yet ennoble the oppressor. He felt convinced that violence, the usual weapon of the weak under similar circumstances, would not do. He saw that violence set moving a vicious cyclic process where violence must follow violence. The Gita and the Sermon had already elicited his reverence and love. He could, therefore, easily find the force he sought and he found it in Satyagraha.* As the years passed he discovered that the path he chose was the only right one and that there did not exist in the arsenal of man a more dynamic and yet more peaceful mode of action than Satyagraha. He found that it blessed him who offered it and him against whom it was offered.

Thus the third unalterable conviction was established in his philosophy that Satyagraha must ever be for him his only weapon in his war against tyranny, oppression or all evil.

It was a man with these profound convictions as the bed rock of his philosophy of life who in the year 1919 came face to face with that colossal machinery of exploitation, the British Empire. For him the political situation in India then meant only the black climax of the oppression of the poor. What wonder then, that he, with all the mighty momentum of his moral indignation, pitched himself against the might of the Empire. In the special session of the Indian National Congress, held in Calcutta, he placed his programme before his countrymen. In that programme he included every item of national activity which would help to evolve strength within. He said—and his words entered the heart of India like flame—that if we could bring about a deeper kinship among the divergent classes and communities of India, achieve even partially a certain amount of economic independence and then refuse to co-operate with the Government then even without a blow being struck or a shot fired, this mighty empire would crumble to ashes and dust. We are not concerned in this article to enquire how this programme could not be fulfilled and where exactly it has failed. But we are concerned, and concerned deeply to understand the vital bed rock of this programme, because when we have discovered that we are sure to realize that even when leading the political tempest from 1919 to 1922 Mahatma Gandhi was in truth yet striving to reach the poor and serve them. He had simply taken hold of the political momentum so that he could control it and make it the power house for a vast process of national activities which aimed at bringing into the cottages of the poor a few more beams of the sun's warmth and light. More than five years have now gone by. This programme has undergone many vicissitudes. But through all these stormy years of suffering and persecution, disappointments and heart-burnings Mahatma Gandhi has clung to the poor with his challenging sincerity and unfaltering faith. Over and over again especially since the advent of the Swarajist Party he has sacrificed all chances of political ascendancy in the country so that he might be a servant of the masses. It rests with him to sign the Swarajist creed and be once again on the top of a tidal wave but he has quickly realized that this wave will only take him further away from the masses. So today he chooses to stay below and there he is sure to remain till such times when ascent again will mean ampler chances for the service of the poor. The All India Spinner's Association which Mahatma Gandhi opened at Patna is full of rich promise for the future. This Association is to consist of a net-work of little organizations all over India to be in intimate touch with the masses and organize them for a happier and fuller life. The foremost members and organizers of the Association are those who could be easily considered as the finest flowers of the nation—men of steadfast purpose and noble resolve. But they are not new recruits. The great tidal wave of purification which Mahatmaji let loose in 1920 pulled them forth from their cushions of wealth and ever since, sunshine or shower, they have stood by him. The Spinner's Association is today accepting the constructive programme which the Congress as a whole could not carry out, and Mahatma Gandhi is through it again holding his hands out to the poor. More; through this Association he aims at bringing the classes and the masses together in bonds of sympathy and co-operation so that united they might build up a happier and noble India. Mahatma Gandhi is thus ever faithful to the mission that is his. In the midst of storms and upheavals, of doubt and despair, he has kept his eyes steadfast on the goal—an Empire of the "poor" and the "meek" from where the tyrant will not be excluded, an Empire of love where there shall be room even for the least in creation, a kingdom where the light and warmth of the "cheerful day" will reach the smallest cottage window.—*G. Ramachandran Santiniketan.*

Current Thought (India).

*Non-violent, Non-resistance.

Men have not heard, men have not seen
Since the beginning of the world
What earth and heaven mean;
But now their curtains shall be furled,
And they shall see what is, ere long,
Not through a glass, but face to face;
And Right shall disestablish Wrong:
The Great Adjustment is taking place.

—*Thomas Hardy.*

Correspondence

"THE ESSENTIALS OF HUMANISM."

Editor of UNITY:

The statement of "The Essentials of Humanism" by Curtis W. Reese troubles me. While I have not taken sides in recent controversies on that subject, I have for many years felt myself to be on the whole a Humanist in the sense in which that word has usually been understood. I have known of that word, as applied to a cultural movement of the Reformation period, that was rebelling against ecclesiastical and scholastic restrictions, and finding inspiration in the Roman classics. And I have known of the New Humanism which, under the leadership of Lessing and Goethe, sought similar freedom and enlargement of life in the spirit of classic Greece. I had supposed that this historic movement was not dead, but is found in movements for freedom and culture today, and that when in churches there arises an issue on this subject, the Humanists are those who belong to the Apostolic succession of Erasmus, and Shakespeare, and Goethe.

With this understanding of Humanism as a broad cultural movement, it is confusing to see the word appropriated and monopolized by a particular philosophical system, and identified with a peculiar doctrine of epistomology. To come now precisely to the point, I do not see why Humanism should be narrowed down to mean Pragmatism. It has not been in the past a system of philosophy or theory of knowledge, but a cultural movement. If Pragmatism wishes to be known by that term, it is using it in other than the historical sense, and should employ it with an explanatory or qualifying word. It might say, philosophic Humanism for example. But to write on Humanism in a religious paper, and make the Pragmatic doctrine of knowledge its first essential, is equivalent to saying that Goethe and Lessing and their sort were not Humanists in the true sense of the term. And incidentally it is to rule out of the company of modern Humanists, some who have the same cultural aims and attitude as have been the characteristic of that movement in its former history.

This is the more unfair, because Humanism has been always undogmatic, and a matter rather of aims and ideals than of intellectual propositions. It would seem then a violation of the very spirit of this movement, to lay down as the first essential of Humanism a doctrine of knowledge. If Humanism should be tied up to a set of intellectual propositions, it would cease to be Humanism in the historic sense of the term.

For these reasons I must dissent from Mr. Reese's "First" and "Second" "Essentials of Humanism," because they are purely intellectual doctrines, and accept only the third among them as valid.

JOSEPH C. ALLEN.

Boston, Mass.

WAR AND CRIME

Editor of UNITY:

It is a good thing to have public attention focused on the subject of crime, as is now being done in an effort to diminish it, but it is quite another thing to achieve results. It will be as impossible to check crime to any appreciable degree without removing its roots and causes as it would be to stop an epidemic of typhoid while the community continues to get its water supply from a polluted source.

Crime does not just happen. It is not a thing of the moment. Crime is a symptom—or definite result of existing conditions. Therefore it is ever present. There are many psychological factors that enter into its continuance which only psychologists can adequately discuss, since only trained minds can adequately discuss the deeper problems connected with their professions. Here is where M. D.'s who specialize in mental conditions of all varieties can render valuable service. Are they already enlightening the public on these lines? An intelligent public opinion based on the latest scientific knowledge is the great need of the day if crime is to be successfully combatted and reduced to a negligible proportion.

There is, however, one powerful factor in this crime problem that is easily recognizable and can be entirely eliminated if people are sufficiently aroused and informed *and desirous of eliminating it.* That factor is war. War is the sum total of evils. It includes all kinds and varieties of depravity. It is lawlessness let loose—like an immense tidal wave or terrific cyclone. It is the giant atrocity that breeds all other atrocities. Its influence is both contagious and infectious. From the evil passions engendered by it what wonder that crime is rampant during war and seems to gather impetus after its close?

And what wonder that the minds of the young are receptive to ideas of crime when, from their earliest childhood, they hear about war and their minds are filled with thoughts of death by violence—and with more and more suggestions of increasing these deaths by additional and more dreadful and subtle devices? Try to soften this as much as may be under the guise of patriotism or any other term the ugly specter of mass murder will not down and it will create its sinister mental effects.

What wonder that children grow up to become criminals of all shades and grades of depravity when they are given pistols and small guns and soldiers to play with and mock battles and killings are part of the sports that leave imprint upon their impressionable minds? And military training in high school and college serves to make the impressions of their childhood well-nigh indelible!

Should not our doctors of medicine and psychology deliver strong messages about this to our good citizens—especially now that the tremendous effects of the subconscious mind on both mental and physical health are being so widely recognized?

War is legalized crime. How shall we abate and prevent crime when the greatest of all crimes is maintained as a lawful institution and its threat is held constantly before us by our army and navy chiefs who feel they neglect their duty if they do otherwise?

Abolish war! It can be done! The Locarno treaties are a good beginning even though feeble in some respects. But their spirit of cooperation is already clearing the atmosphere and relieving the terrible tension of hatred and fear. The United States should not only be willing but eager to follow up this line of action and steadfastly champion the cooperative spirit to the exclusion of militarism. It all depends on a determined attitude of mind. If the will to peace be strong enough (as at Locarno) war can be abolished. And the elimination of war will go a long way toward minimizing the number of criminals. The wonder is that human nature shows up as favorably as it does when all the drawbacks to noble development under which it labors are considered! What are the influence for good or evil that are brought to bear on the great majority of our children who will be the adults of tomorrow? Think it over!

LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

Brookline, Mass.

CHALLENGE TO THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

Editor of UNITY:

A few members of this Party have this year come to India and are misleading the general mass of people. They claim that without the support of the British Labor Party, India could not make itself independent. That the Labor party has done much for India while it was in power at the helm of administration in England. The writer challenges these statements. If the Labor Party intends giving its support to India, it should first tell the outside world, that under its own regime several Indians in Bengal have been spirited away and confined in the cells in the Ganges delta near Calcutta, because these Indians wanted to see India independent. Even the constitutional agitators are imprisoned without any cause and yet their cases are not brought before the judicial tribunal. During the regime of the Labor Party the Sikhs in the Punjab, in the Nabha state, were ruthlessly and mercilessly beaten to death. During the regime of the Labor Party the Army Canteen Board of India got support from the Government of India, to pull on at the expense of the Indian tax payers, though this department is working at horrible loss. During the regime of the Labor Party, the frontier wars in India were continued and millions of sterlings wasted in waging wars near Peshawar, Bannu and Kohat with the Pathans. During the regime of the Labor Party, Indians were deprived of their rights in the administration of their own country and were debarred from the British colonies. During the regime of the Labor Party, Indian jail administration reached to the highest point of notoriety.

Bombay, India. M. DESAL.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

Bulletin
American Committee for Justice to China

Tariff Autonomy for China

The representatives of the eight powers conferring on tariff autonomy for China on November 19, 1925, unanimously passed a resolution stating that:

"The contracting powers, other than China, hereby recognize China's right to enjoy tariff autonomy; they agree to remove the tariff restrictions which are contained in the existing treaties between themselves respectively and China and consent to the going into effect of the Chinese National Tariff law on January 1, 1926.

"The government of the Republic of China declares that the likin shall be abolished simultaneously with enforcement of the tariff law, and further declares that the abolition of the likin shall be effectively carried out by the first day of the first month of the eighteenth year of the republic (January 1, 1929)."

The questions not yet decided and now under consideration by a subcommittee are: First, the matter of compensation to the provinces in lieu of likin; second, the consolidation of China's debt; third, allotment of funds for constructive undertakings; fourth, administrative expenses of the Chinese Government.

A Y. M. C. A. secretary long resident in China comments on the recommendations of the conference as follows:

"China has undoubtedly gained something from the tariff conference. Possibly the powers will make an attempt to condition autonomy upon the abolition of the likin, but I doubt whether they can do it. Times are changing and the Chinese are getting the idea that the powers are not so formidable as they have looked. Men like C. T. Wang (leader of the Chinese delegation at the conference) are not far from a position of abrogation of all inequalities in the treaties. Even extrality is going to have a short shift. Unless the powers move fast in making concessions they will wake up to find that there are no concessions to be made, and that there isn't much they can do to reset the stage in the way they are accustomed to. Foreigners cannot much longer force China to do things, and the Chinese are waking up to a realization of the fact."

The Abolition of Extraterritoriality in China

The convening of the commission on extraterritoriality was postponed from December 18, 1925, to January 8, 1926. Strong public opinion favoring its abolition has been expressed by such representative bodies in this country as the Conference on American Relations with China, composed of men and women prominent in the fields of trade, labor, finance, industry, missions, politics, sociology, education and journalism; and the members of thirty-seven Mission Boards and Societies of the United States and Canada.

The Return of All Foreign Concessions, Settlements and Leases to China and the Restoration of Her Full Sovereignty

Demands for the restoration of full sovereign rights to China have been made by the representatives of thirty-seven Mission Boards and Societies of the United States and Canada. A resolution passed by them urges an early revision of the treaties with China to give effective application to the principle "To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."

Members of the British Labour Party are making similar demands. A recent message from Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Labour cabinet, advocates "An acknowledgement by the Western Powers of China's complete sovereignty and independence in all that concerns the administration of her national affairs."

The Withdrawal of American Troops from Chinese Soil and American Warships from Chinese Waters

The American marines on duty in China last summer were withdrawn at the end of October. The United States, by treaty agreement maintains armed forces permanently in China consisting of the legation guard of 651 in Peking (1925 Report of the Secretary of the Navy), 979 officers and soldiers in Tientsin, and 8 gunboats in Chinese waters. The total number of foreign troops in China, according to a recent estimate is 4,119, made up of 834 British soldiers, 955 United States, 1,530 French, 400 Japanese, and 400 Italian. According to the treaty of Portsmouth signed in 1905, the Japanese may send 15,000 soldiers into Manchuria. A recent press dispatch predicts that this number will not be reached in the present crisis in Northern China.

The Chinese Information Bureau of London makes the following statement in a recent bulletin:

"Attempts are being made by certain British residents in Shanghai and elsewhere to form a sort of Fascist Force to 'undertake the policy of the strong hand in China' (to quote a recent circular issued by the promoters) which they regret they have been unable to persuade the British Government yet to do for them. The promoters mournfully regret that it may be difficult to raise enough money to carry through their whole plan which is a 'British Confederacy from Harbin to Singapore, into which they will invite the "best" elements from Chinese, Japanese, Malayans, and Indians.' The remaining 400,000,000 or so will presumably be disregarded."

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Shanghai Shootings of May 30

The report of the special committee of inquiry has not been made public. Disapproval of the withholding of it has been very generally expressed—even the British-owned North China Daily News of Shanghai severely criticises editorially this policy of secrecy.

The essential points in the report are given thus in the North China Star:

"1. It is decided in principle that for those who were either killed or wounded in connection with the May 30th incident of Shanghai, there shall be due compensation for their families.

"2. The police authorities of the Shanghai Municipal Council are found not entirely without blame in connection with the incident, and for this reason, at least nine officers, including Captain Everson, should be dismissed from service.

"3. The mobilization of the International Volunteer Corps cannot henceforth be ordered without getting the previous consent of the Shanghai

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THE SKELETON

(Translated by the Author)

A beast's bony frame lies bleaching on the grass.
Its dry white bones—Time's hard laughter—
cry to me:
Thy end, proud man, is one with the end of the cattle
that graze no more,
for when thy life's wine is spilt to its last drop
the cup is flung away in a final unconcern.

I cry in answer:
Mine is not merely the life that pays its bed and board
with its bankrupt bones, and is made destitute.
Never can my mortal days contain to the full
all that I have thought and felt, gained and given,
listened to and uttered.

Often has my mind crossed Time's border,—
is it to stop at last for ever at the boundary
of crumbling bones?
Flesh and blood can never be the measure of the truth
that is myself;
the days and moments cannot wear it out
with their passing kicks;
the way-side bandit, Dust, dares not rob it of all its
possesions.

Know that I have drunk the honey of the formless
from the lotus of endless forms;
through the cave of sufferings I have found
the secret path of delight;
and have seen tracks of light across the voiceless desert
of the dark.

Death, I refuse to accept from thee
that I am nothing but a gigantic jest of God,
that I am annihilation built with all the wealth of the
Infinite.

The Visva Bharati Quarterly. —*Rabindranath Tagore.*

Municipal Council Body in Shanghai.

"4. All policemen in the International Settlement shall be disarmed.

"5. In order to meet the wishes of the Chinese people it is decided in principle that the Shanghai Municipal Council shall be thoroughly re-organized, so as to permit Chinese representation on the Council.

"6. Marines of the foreign men-of-war in the Shanghai waters hereafter cannot be landed, and shall not be permitted to land, without the most cautious consideration of any situation that may demand their presence, by the Consular Body, the Municipal Council, and the Chinese local authorities."

Provision is made for Chinese representation on the Municipal Council and for a reorganization of the Mixed Court.

So far as the money indemnity offered by the Municipal Council is concerned, it has been indignantly refused by the Chinese, leaving certain political aspects of the incident exactly where they were before the inquiry. The Chinese asked £300,000. The Municipal Council sent a cheque for £7,500.

The Far Eastern Division of the United States Department of State will not give out the report of Justice E. Finley Johnson, the American member of the Commission of Inquiry. (Letter dated January 14, 1926).

Mr. Thomas J. Millard, in his dispatch in the New York Times of January 8, makes this reference to the special report filed by Justice Johnson:

"The leading British newspaper here, in an editorial, severely criticises Justice E. Finley Johnson, the American, because his report was not confined strictly to the shooting incident, but went into the underlying collateral causes.

"This is the occasion for a hot controversy. Most foreigners here take the paper's viewpoint, thinking anything exposing these issues is better left unsaid. Justice Johnson's report, therefore, is unpopular now, but far-seeing persons are glad that he frankly brought out those conditions, thus forcing the attention of home governments."

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